

# FOREIGN NEWS

## INTERNATIONAL

### Milestone

Last week passed the second anniversary of Munich: Sept. 29, 1938.

### Three Against the U. S.

The morning of Sept. 27, 1940 A.D., which corresponds to the 18th year of the Fascist Era and the 15th year of Showa (the reign of Japan's Emperor Hirohito), dawned clear and quiet in Berlin. There had been no air raid the night before and His Excellency Señor Don Ramón Serrano Suñer, Spain's Minister of Government and Falangist Party Leader, had had a good night's sleep. Don Ramón, who had been a visitor in Berlin for nearly three weeks, had, as usual, very little to do. He took a stroll in the direction of the Chancellery and on the way he ran into a phalanx of plum-cheeked school

was any member of the diplomatic corps except slim, suave Saburo Kurusu, who represents Japan in Berlin and has a Nazi-phobe American wife. Just outside a door that leads to the offices of Adolf Hitler a long table had been placed. Ambassador Kurusu sat there, as did Count Ciano and Herr von Ribbentrop. Before them, on the table, lay a thin document in triplicate.

At precisely 1:15 o'clock in the afternoon Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop scrawled his signature at the bottom of the first copy of the document, addressed himself to duplicate and triplicate. Count Ciano followed him and Ambassador Kurusu signed last. The signing took two minutes. As Ambassador Kurusu laid down his pen the door behind him opened. With a nervous, catlike walk Adolf Hitler came in. He shook hands with the Italian and Japanese emissaries, sat down next to Ciano. Joachim von Ribbentrop stood up

all political, economic and military means when one of the three contracting powers is attacked by a power at present not involved in the European war or the Chinese-Japanese conflict.

**Article IV:** "With the view to implementing the present pact, joint technical commissions, members of which are to be appointed by the respective governments of Germany, Italy and Japan, will meet without delay.

**Article V:** "Germany, Italy and Japan affirm that the aforesaid terms do not in any way affect the political status which exists at present between each of the three contracting parties and Soviet Russia.

**Article VI:** "The present pact . . . shall remain in force ten years. . . . The high contracting parties shall at the request of any of them enter into negotiations for its renewal."

**250,000,000 Strong.** While Adolf Hitler glowered at the table top, Joachim von Ribbentrop launched into a speech which made clearer than crystal a fact that was crystal-clear already: the treaty was an alliance against the U. S. Cried he:

"The pact which has been signed is a military alliance between three of the mightiest States on earth. . . . It is to help to bring peace to the world as quickly as possible. . . . Any State, should it harbor the intention of mixing in the final phase of the solution of these problems in Europe or Eastern Asia, or attacking one State signatory to this three-power pact, will have to take on the entire concentrated might of three nations with more than 250,000,000 inhabitants."

What Germany, Italy and Japan had said to the U. S. was simply this: if the U. S. joins Britain in the European war, Japan will attack in the Pacific; if the U. S. interferes in the Chinese war or tries to stop Japanese expansion, Germany and Italy will attack in the Atlantic. If the U. S. can be frightened into isolation, the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis thinks it can pick the British Empire to pieces.

**No bombshell** through the roof of the U. S. State Department was this treaty. Secretary of State Cordell Hull laconically observed that it was merely another brick in the structure of anti-U. S. Japanese foreign policy, which he apparently had despaired of altering as long ago as 1936. But nobody could deny that the treaty was a diplomatic defeat for the U. S., which for the first time in its history was now encircled by enemies.

From the standpoint of power politics the pact amounted to raising the ante in the hope of frightening the U. S. into dropping its hand so the Axis could rake in the pot. But if the Axis hoped to frighten the U. S. out of its everything-short-of-war policy of helping Great Britain, it had almost certainly failed. Since U. S. security in the Atlantic—hence liberty to maintain her Fleet in the Pacific—depends



CIANO, RIBBENTROP AND KURUSU IN BERLIN  
"To help bring peace to the world."

children, each carrying three paper flags—German, Italian and Japanese. They were on their way to the Chancellery to welcome Italy's Foreign Minister, Count Galeazzo Ciano.

Don Ramón was not surprised to see the flags the children carried, but newspaper correspondents were. For a fortnight they had been led to expect that the big Axis doings which were obviously under way had to do with Don Ramón's country. While German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop conferred with Count Ciano and Benito Mussolini in Rome they had filed Foreign-Office-inspired dispatches about Axis designs on Gibraltar, on the Near East, on Africa—but hardly a line about the Far East. This morning they learned that they had been thoroughly hoaxed. Lean, hollow-eyed Don Ramón had been posted in Berlin as a scarecrow to keep them out of the Axis chicken yard until another batch of eggs had hatched.

When the correspondents were admitted to the vast Hall of Ambassadors in the Chancellery, they observed that Don Ramón Serrano Suñer was not there. Neither

and through a battery of microphones proceeded to tell the world that Japan had joined the Axis.

**"New Order of Things."** The agreement contained only 419 words, consisted of a preamble and six short articles. The preamble was bombastic, the articles curt, clear, complete. Excerpts:

**Preamble:** "The Governments of Germany, Italy and Japan . . . have decided to stand by and cooperate with one another in regard to their efforts in Greater East Asia and regions of Europe respectively, wherein it is their prime purpose to establish and maintain a new order of things calculated to promote and maintain the mutual prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned. . . ."

**Article I:** "Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe.

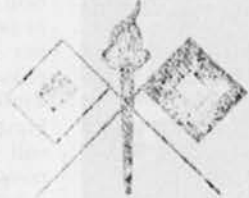
**Article II:** "Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia.

**Article III:** "Germany, Italy and Japan . . . undertake to assist one another with

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## FOREIGN NEWS

on the British Fleet, the U. S. could now do no less than help Britain more.

**The Gamble.** Ever since the war began Germany has tried to bring in Japan on her side. Lately U. S. aid to Great Britain has been an increasing menace to Germany. A month ago Germany began putting heavy pressure on Japan. One of Joachim von Ribbentrop's smart, tough



ENVOY STAHMER  
*"He worked."*

young men, Heinrich von Stahmer, went to Moscow, told Joseph Stalin's man Molotov what was afoot, and continued on to Tokyo. There he was known as "Germany's masked special envoy." Nearly every day he went to see Yosuke Matsuoka, Japan's ambitious, daring Foreign Minister who is the backbone of Premier Prince Fumimaro Konoye.

Germany needed Japan, not only to try to neutralize the U. S., but to threaten the Far Eastern part of the British Empire: Singapore, Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand. Foreign Minister Matsuoka believed Japan could gamble on Germany's winning the war before the U. S. was ready, willing, or able to join up against the Axis in World War II. After two weeks of argument he won over Prince Konoye and the Emperor.

**What Is East Asia?** Japan's gains from the treaty were not so obvious as those of Germany and Italy. And Japan's risks were greater. But if the U. S. is kept from effective action in the Far East, Japan may eventually realize her East Asian dream. Last week no authoritative spokesman would define the term Greater East Asia, but the newspaper *Nichi Nichi*, which often speaks with authority, drew its boundaries in an article last month. Said *Nichi Nichi*:

"It is bound on the west by a continuous chain of mountains forming a Great Divide." Tracing this chain of mountains from the Bering Strait southwestward to

the Arabian Sea, *Nichi Nichi* drew a line which almost coincides with the frontiers of Siberia, giving Japan's Greater East Asia all of China, French Indo-China, Siam, Burma and India. The coast line of East Asia, said *Nichi Nichi*, extends "from Northern Nippon southward to Indonesia, then westward to Ceylon. Asia's history shows how long there has been intercourse along this coast line. No matter how we look at this East Asia, it is a natural and inseparable unit."

Before embarking on a political course which may yet bring war with the U. S., Japan took one last look backward. Foreign Office spokesmen spoke regretfully of U. S. hostility to Japanese aims, of continued pressure culminating in last week's embargo of scrap iron (see p. 13). Japan is still not abandoning hope of improving relations with the U. S., said the Foreign



ENVOY STEINHARDT  
*He vacationed.*

Office's Spokesman No. 1, slightly cock-eyed, definitely popeyed, swart, squat Yachihiro Suma.

**In Moscow** the text of the treaty was digested for 24 hours before its text was published. Not until three days after it was signed did *Pravda* offer the skimpy comment that Russia had known about it in advance.

Russia, long the most hated nation in the world, became by virtue of the treaty the most sought-after power in the world. U. S. Ambassador Laurence Steinhardt, who had vacationed in the U. S. while the treaty was being cooked up, paid a hurried call on Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav Molotov. British Ambassador Sir Stafford Cripps got busy. Japanese Ambassador Yoshitsugu Tatekawa, who hates Communists but loves the "simple, pure-minded Russians," conferred with German Ambassador Count Friedrich Werner von der Schulenburg about the non-aggression treaty Japan hopes to negotiate with the

U. S. S. R. to safeguard her northern frontier while she conquers Greater East Asia. Comrades Stalin & Molotov said nothing. Well they know that, while Russia's interests lie with a victory of the London-Washington Axis, the Berlin-Tokyo Axis has the U. S. S. R. also encircled.

As Foreign Minister Molotov prepared to confer with Germany's Ribbentrop, Berlin let it be known that in the new world Germany hopes to create, Russia would have her sphere of influence. This sphere would lie between German Europe and Japanese East Asia, but its exact boundaries were not marked. Russia does and must always fear German expansion eastward more than anything else, and it was doubtful last week if anything Joachim von Ribbentrop could say or sign would reassure Comrade Stalin on that point. Best bet was that Russia would continue to play ball with the Axis against Great Britain for self-protection, but would stand ready to change sides if ever Britain and the U. S. appeared about to win the game.

**What of China?** If Russia and Japan can reach an agreement on spheres of influence in China, China may find herself Poland. But if Russia continues to send supplies to the Chinese, China may gain by the pact. Last week the U. S. gave China a \$25,000,000 credit, and Britain will doubtless reopen the Burma



FOREIGN MINISTER MATSUOKA  
*He gambled.*

Road. Both Britain and the U. S. now desperately need China's aid in keeping Japan too busy to spread out into the East Indies.

"The turning point of history" was what Japan's Prince Konoye called the treaty. Reactions throughout the world showed that this might be true. To China a U. S.-Japanese war appeared inevitable. To Spain the U. S. seemed faced with a dilemma: intervene immediately or aban-



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### Thunder in the East

The Fascist Alliance was one week old last week. The capitals of the world had had time to digest it, to react. The reactions were various, ranging from frank jubilation in Berlin and Rome to London's grim decision to reopen the Burma Road in the face of a muttered Japanese threat that this would bring war. From Moscow, where the balance of world power now lies, there was no news.

Washington still held to its tortuous course midway between appeasement and action, while the Navy itched for a go at the little yellow men in their big boats (see p. 32). As usual U. S. public opinion was slow to react, because its leaders had as yet to give it clue or cue. The State Department, in this month before election, was even chancier than usual of taking a firm stand until it knew what the reaction was. But in Tokyo, where the Government not only informs but makes public opinion, there were many signs that Japan intended to force the U. S. to take its stand. Every official and semi-official spokesman who opened his mouth—and the Japanese talked plenty last week—let it be known that Japan considers the Fascist Alliance a challenge to the U. S.

First official to sound off was Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka, who has a big reputation for talking. In an interview given to International News Service's Larry Smith, the Foreign Minister was quoted as follows:

"Japan will be compelled to fight the United States if our sister nation on the shores of the Pacific enters the war in Europe. I fling this challenge to America: If she in her contentment is going to blindly and stubbornly stick to the *status quo* in the Pacific, then we will fight America. For it would be better to perish than to maintain the *status quo*."

"I have always considered America my second home land. I have always known the American people as a good and decent people, so it grieves me to realize that today America is the most unprogressive nation on earth. . . . It is nice for the United States to say that we must settle everything peacefully, but if we wait for America we must perish in the years of waiting. So I say to America: Now is the time for action, and Japan will not hesitate when its hour arrives."

It was not until two days later, after Washington had unofficially called the interview an insult, that Foreign Minister Matsuoka decided that perhaps he had talked too much. The Japanese Foreign Office explained that Mr. Matsuoka had

\* Yosuke Matsuoka graduated from the University of Oregon Law School in 1900, has been a loyal, dues-paying member of the Oregon Alumni Association for 20 years. This week in a "report to my Alma Mater" in the alumni magazine, he wrote feelingly of Japanese aims in polite, meaningless platitudes.

been talking off the record to a "magazine artist," gave its "official" version of the interview:

"The treaty speaks for itself. Japan would have to fight America if America entered the European War. But that is an eventuality that I shudder even to think of."

Next speaker to take the stump was sleepy-eyed Premier Prince Fumimaro Konoye himself. Said he: "Should the United States refuse to understand the real intention of Japan, Germany and Italy, and persist in challenging them in the belief that the pact among them represents a hostile action, there will be no other course open to them than to go to war."

Foreign Office Spokesman Yakichiro Suma chimed in with the assertion that the U. S. is "taking step after step in the wrong direction, which might precipitate her into the vortex of armed conflict." Spokesman Suma paid his respects to a suggestion by Publisher Roy Wilson Howard that the U. S. send a commission to Japan to improve U. S.-Japanese relations. Such a commission could be effective only if the two Governments were in agreement on fundamentals, said Yakichiro Suma, "and they have no mutual grounds any more."

Japanese newspapers went all the way out on the limb. In *Nichi Nichi*, Nationalist Leader Seigo Nakano proposed that



Paul Dorsey

JAPAN'S KONOYE

"Should the United States persist. . ."

Japan take over the foreign concessions in Shanghai and Tientsin, restore Hong Kong to China (i.e., to Japan's puppet Government at Nanking) and "restore The Netherlands Indies as an Asiatic country." In a telegram to Publisher Howard, Director Hoshio Mitsunaga of the Nippon Press Association suggested that the U. S. can prevent a crisis if it "abandons its forti-

fications at Pearl Harbor, Guam and the Midway Islands, gives up its support of Chiang Kai-shek and restores trade to normalcy."

By such words as those spoken last week, as well as by fundamental disagreements, wars are made. Officially the U. S. kept silent, but there were those who talked back. Arrived in the U. S. from Shanghai, Publisher Cornelius Vander Starr of the *Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury* did his bit to fan the smoldering crisis by telling Manhattan reporters that Japan was a fifth-rate power whose principal weapon was bluff. "Regardless of her bombast, Japan will under no circumstances risk actual war with America," said lean Publisher Starr, whom the Japanese have separated not only from his newspaper but from the largest insurance business in the Far East.

At week's end lights burned late in the old grey State Department building in Washington. If Cordell Hull & Co. were not talking, at least they were pondering—perhaps preparing to act. Unless the U. S. was willing to go all-out against Japan, it would be useless to slap an embargo on oil, because that would be an invitation to Japan to take the East Indies. But an agreement with Britain for a string of Far Eastern naval bases from New Zealand to Singapore was worth pondering, as were the chances of Japan's risking war to keep the U. S. out of Singapore.

While Washington pondered, the Japanese continued to consolidate their gains in French Indo-China, moving southward toward Singapore (see p. 50). They worked to reach an agreement with Russia that would enable them to close the China Incident. The little yellow men were out to see whether the U. S. would scare. A firm U. S.-British stand on aid to China via the Burma Road, plus naval cooperation in the Far East, might scare them instead. If neither side would scare, there was a better than even chance of war.

### 200th Day

On the 18th of March 1940, when the snow had scarcely gone from the pass between the Wolfendorn and Sattelberg, Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini sat down in a railroad car at Brennero station to plan their spring campaign against Great Britain and France. Twenty-two days later war began in Western Europe with a flanking movement into Denmark and Norway. Eighty-five days later Italy entered the war with a flanking movement against collapsing France. Ninety-nine days later France fell.

Last week, just 200 days after their first meeting at Brenner Pass, Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini met there again. The snow would soon begin to creep down the slopes of the Wolfendorn and Sattelberg, but that day a bright sun shone on the flower-and-flag-strewn station, made dust specks dance above the red carpets

辯護側文書一七二三

一九四〇年十月七日及一九四〇年十月十四日發行  
雜誌「タイム」よりの抜萃

海外報道  
國際關係

イスラエル  
哩程石

一九三八年九月二十九日のミューニツヒ會談の二週年記念日は先週過ぎた。

反米三國

フアシスト紀念十八年昭和（日本天皇裕仁親王御治世）十五年に相當する西曆一九四〇年九月二十七日の朝ベルリンは綺麗に晴れて靜かに明けて行つた。

× × × ×

通信員は官邸の廣い外國使臣引見の間に入室を許された時その部屋にドン。ラーモン。セラノ。スリーナーの居ないことに氣がついた。又外交團

のメンバーとしてはベルリンに在つて日本を代表しナチ嫌ひのアメリカ婦人を妻にもつ華奢な典雅な來栖三郎のみが居た。アドルフ・ヒットラーの事務室へつゞく扉のすぐ外には長いテーブルが一つ置かれてあつた。そして其處に來栖大使がチアノ伯フォン・リッベントロップ氏と共に腰を下してゐた。彼等の前の机の上には一つの薄い文書の三通の寫しがのせられてあつた。

午後一時十五分丁度、フォン・リッベントロップ外相は第一の寫しの終りにさらさらと署名し更に第二、第三の寫上にも署名した。之に續いてチアノ伯が署名し、來栖大使がペンを置いた時彼の後の扉が開いて神經質な猫のやうな足取りでアドルフ・ヒットラーが入つて來た。彼はイタリヤ、日本兩使臣と握手を交しチアノ伯の隣へ腰かけた。ヨアヒム・フォン・リッベントロップは立上りマイクロフォンを通し日本が樞軸に參加した事を世界に向つて告げ始めた。

「新秩序」この協約は使用語數僅に四一九語で序文と短かい六つの條項から成つてゐる。序文は誇大的であり條文は簡潔、明瞭にして完全であつた。以下抜萃



序文 「獨乙國政府、伊太利國政府及日本國政府ハ……大東亞及歐洲の地域ニ於テ各其ノ地域ニ於ケル當該民族ノ共存共榮ノ實ヲ舉グルニ足ルベキ新秩序ヲ建設シ且之ヲ維持センコトヲ根本義ト爲シ右地域ニ於テ此ノ趣旨ニ據レル努力ニ付相互ニ提携シ且協力スルコトニ決意セリ

第一條 日本國ハ獨乙國及伊太利國ノ歐洲ニ於ケル新秩序建設ニ關シ指導的地位ヲ認メ且之ヲ尊重ス

第二條 獨乙國及伊太利國ハ日本國ノ大東亞ニ於ケル新秩序建設ニ關シ指導的地位ヲ認メ且之ヲ尊重ス

第三條 日本國、獨乙國及伊太利國ハ……三締約國中何レカノ一國ガ現ニ歐洲戰爭又ハ日支紛争ニ參入シ居ラザル一國ニ依テ攻撃セラレタルトキハ三國ハ有ラユル政治的、經濟的及軍事的方法ニ依リ相互ニ援助スベキコトヲ終ス

第四條 本條約實施ノ爲各日本國政府、獨乙國政府及伊太利國政府ニ依リ任命セラルベキ委員ヨリ成ル混合專門委員會ハ遲滯ナク開催セラルベキモノトス

Def. Doc. #1713

第五條 日本國、獨乙國及伊太利國ハ前記諸條項ガ締約國ノ各ト「ソ  
ヴィエト」聯邦トノ間ニ現存スル政治的状態ニ何等ノ影響ヲモ及ボサザ  
ルモノナルコトヲ確認ス

第六條 本條約ハ……十年間有效トス……締約國中ノ一國ノ要  
求ニ基キ締約國ハ本條約ノ更新ニ關シ協議スベシ



總勢二億五千萬 アドルフ・ヒットラーがテーブルの表面を睨めつけてゐる間に一方、ヨアヒム・フオン・リツベントロツプは演説を進め、既に明々白々の事實を更に明白にして行つた。即この條約は對アメリカ同盟なのであつた。彼は疾の如く叫んだ

「只今調印したる條約は地上に於ける最強の三國家間の軍事同盟であります。……之は可及的速かに世界平和を齎さんとするものであります。……如何なる國と雖も若し歐洲及び東亞に於ける之等諸問題解決の最終局面に又は本三國條約調印國の一に攻撃を加へんとする事がありなすならばその國は二億五千萬以上の人口を有する三ヶ國の總集中力を相手に取らなければならないことになるであります。」

爆彈に非ず この條約は米國國務省の屋根を打貫く爆彈でも何でもなかつたのである。コーデル・ハル國務長官はもうずつと一九三六年このかた日本の反米外交政策を變更させようとする事を斷念して了つてゐたが今回の條約はこの日本の反アメリカ外交政策強化のための單にもう一個の煉瓦に過ぎないと簡単に言つてのけた。

然し何人も此の條約がアメリカに取つては外交上の敗北、即アメリカの歴史始まつて以來初めて敵國の包圍を受けたものであるといふ事を否定する事は出来なかつた。

戦争開始以來ドイツは常に日本を味方に引込まうと試みた。最近アメリカの對英援助はドイツに對する脅威を増加して來てゐる。一ヶ月前からドイツは日本に重い壓力を加へ始めた。ヨアヒム・フォン・リッペン・トロツクの部下で強硬な腕利きの若手一人であるハインリッヒ・フン・スターマーはモスコに行きジョゼフ・スターリンの部下モロトフに當時進行中の事柄を告げ更に東京へ向つた。東京では彼は「覆面せるドイツの特使」として知られた。彼は殆ど毎日日本の大膽な外務大臣として首相近衛文相の後援であり支柱となつてゐる松岡洋石に會ひに出かけた。

ドイツは單にアメリカを中立國たらしめやうとする努力からばかりでなく英帝國の極東に於ける領域、即シンガポール香港暹羅ニュージランドを威嚇するために、日本を必要とした。

松岡外相はアメリカが樞軸に對抗して第二次世界戦争に参加する用意が整ふか、参加する事を望むか、又は参加する事が可能になるかさうした事により以前にドイツが勝つといふ事に日本は賭する事が出来ると信じた。

二週間の論議の後彼は近衛公並に天皇陛下の諷同を獲得した。

(一九四〇年十月七日付タイム紙)



## 東方の雷鳴

フワシスト同盟が締結されてからまる一週間が先週過ぎた。世界各國の首都が之を消化し反應するだけの時が経つた。その反應は様々であり、ベルリン及びローマに於ける明らかな祝祭からロンドンのにがり切つた決意——戦争誘發の原因になるであらうと不満勃々の日本が威脅するにも拘らず敢然ビルマ道路を再開せんとするロンドンの苦々しい決意に至るまでいろいろであつた。現在世界の勢力の均衡のかかつてゐるモスコイからは何等報道も無かつた。

海軍が大船に乗り込んだ(三二頁参照)ちつぽけな黃色人種に向つて、「かかれ」の號令をむづむづしながら待つてゐる一方、ワシントン<sup>論</sup>は矢張り宥和と行動との中間の迂遠な道を<sup>選</sup>出した。アメリカの輿は(例の如くに反動が緩漫であつた。)それはまだ指導者達がその手掛りになるものを與へなければならぬ状態にあつた爲であつた。國務省はこの選挙前の月に當つてこの反動が如何様のものであるかが解るまではじつと行動を控え常にも増して慎重な態度を採つた。然しながら、政府が報道するのみなら

ず更に輿論をも造り出す場所である東京では、日本がアメリカに腰を決めさせようと企圖してある事を示す多くの徴候があつた。官又は半官代辯者にしていやしくも口を開いた者は——しかも先週日本は随分にぎやかにしやべつた——誰も彼も日本は事ワシスト同盟をアメリカに對する挑戦であると考えたと斷言した。

先づ最初に發表を行つた官僚は演説に長けたと評判のある松岡洋右外相であつた。インターナショナル、ニユース、サーヴィスラリー、スミスとの會見に於て外相は次の如き語つた。

「太平洋沿岸の我々の姉妹國が歐州戦争に加はるやうな事になれば、日本はアメリカと戦ふべく餘儀なくされるであらう。私はアメリカに對し次の如く挑戦するものである。即若しアメリカが自分のみの満足に馴れて盲目的且つ頑迷に太平洋に於ける現状維持を固執するならば我々はアメリカと戦を交へるであらうと。何故ならば現状を維持せんよりは枯死する方が勝るからである。

「私は常にアメリカを自分の第二の故國と考へて來た。私はアメリカ人を善良且つ禮儀を知る國民であると思つて來た。その故に、今日アメリカ人が地堡で最も非道法的國民であるといふ事を知つて悲しむものである。我々は何事も總て平和的解決をしなければならぬと米國が言ふのは誠に聞えがよいのであるが若しアメリカを待つてゐたら我々は幾年も待ちながら枯死し



なければならぬのである。であるから私はアメリカに向つて言ふのである。今こそ行動の時である。而して日本は機至らば逡巡する處は無いであらうと。」

ワシントンがこの會談を侮辱だと非公式に呼んでから二日を経過してやつと松岡外相は自分が言ひ過ぎてしまったらしいと氣がついた日本外務省は松岡外相が非公式に「新聞藝術家」に對して語つたのであると説明しこの會見に對する「公式」の解釋を作り上げた、、、、

次の政談演説者は睡たげな目をした首相近衛文磨その人であつた。彼は云つた「若しアメリカが日本、ドイツ及びイタリーの直の意圖を了解する事を拒み、三國間に締結された條約は敵對行爲を表現するものであるとの信念に於て三國に對する挑戦を主張するならば戦争以外には三國の進むべき道は無いであらう」と。外務省代辯者須磨彌吉郎はアメリカは「自國を戦禍に陥れるかも知れない誤つた方向へ一歩一歩行進してゐる」と斷言して近衛の言に賛同した。須磨代表は新聞發行者ロイ・ウイルソン・ホワードが日米關係ヲ改善する爲にアメリカが日本に對し委員を派遣することを提議したについては敬意を表した。このやうな委員會は兩國政府が根本問題に關して同意見である場合に限り効果的なものであり「而しても早や兩國政府は共通の基礎を失つた」<sup>と</sup>須磨彌吉郎は言つた。

日本の諸新聞は極端な傾向を示した

日日新聞で國家主義指導者中野正剛は日本が上海及天津の外國人租界

を引續ぎ、香港を支那（即南京に在る日本の傀儡政権）に返還し、且つ「英領印度諸島をアジアの一國として蘇生させる」ことを提案した。日本新聞聯合會理事長（高永星夫）は新聞發行者ホワード宛電文中で若しアメリカが「眞珠灣、グアム及びミッドウェイ諸島に於ける要塞構築を放棄し、蔣介石援助を断念し、貿易を通常状態に回復すれば、アメリカは危機を回避する事が出来ると示唆した。

先週語られた斯うした言葉や根本的な意見の不一致から戦争が行はれるのである。アメリカ政府は沈黙を守つたが、だまつて居られなかつた。アメリカ人もゐた。上海から歸米したイヴニングポスト・アンド・マニキュリー紙刊行人コーネリウス・ヴァンダースターは煽つてゐる。「危機」を些かあぶり立て、日本は、五等國であつて、その最大武器は虚勢でゐると、マンハッタンの新聞記者連に語つた。



「日本は大言壯語に拘らず如何なる場合と雖もアメリカと實戦を交す事はないてあらう」と清せ我慢のスター氏が云つたので、日本側は彼を彼の新聞事業のみならず東亞最大の保險事業から隔離してしまつた。その週末にはワシントンの古めかしい灰色の國務省の建物に夜更けても灯がともつてゐた。之は、コーデル・ハル以下が、相談でなければ、少くとも熟考を凝してゐたのであつた。多分は行動への準備として次のやうなことを話し込んでゐたのであらう。若しアメリカが全力を揚げて日本に向ふことを欲しないならば石油輸出禁止を斷行することは無益であらう何故ならばさうする事は日本に對して東印度諸島を取るやうにと勸誘する事だからである。然しニュージラードからシンガポールへかけての一連の極東海軍基地について英國と協約することは熟考に値する。日本がアメリカをシンガポールから遠ざけて置く爲めに、戦争を試みるや否やについて熟考するのが無益でないと同様に、ワシントンが考慮してゐる間に、日本側はシンガポールへ向つて南下しながら（五〇頁参照）佛領印度支那に於ける利益を引續き確保して行つた。彼等は支那事變の結末の得られるやうな協定をロ

シヤとの間に、締結せんとして活動した。ちつぽけな黄色の日本人選  
はアメリカが驚くか否かを試しに乗出した。然しながら、ビルマ道路  
經由の對支援助に加ふるに極東に於ける海軍との協力を以てするアメ  
リカとイギリスの提携は、却つて日本側に對する威嚇となるかもしれ  
ない。若しどちら側も驚かないならば、五分五分以上に戦争の可能  
性がある譯であつた。

松岡洋右は一九〇〇年オレゴン大學法律科を卒業、過去廿年間オレゴ  
ン大學同窓會に忠實に會費を納めてゐた。今週彼は、同窓會誌の「母  
校への報告」の中に、日本の目的につき、慫慂無意味な常套語を弄し  
て感慨深げなる一文を物してゐる。